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SUBJECT: THE NATIONAL RECONCILIATION AND DIALOGUE PROJECT

REF: REF ESCROGIMA-NEA/I E-MAIL 6/21/06

Classified By: POLITICAL COUNSELOR MARGARET SCOBAY, FOR REASONS
1.4 (B) AND (D).

¶1. (C) As per ref, PM Maliki may announce his national reconciliation plan as early as the Council of Representative's next session, June 25. Discussion continues among the Presidency, Prime Minister, DPMS and CoR leadership on the details. Sunni VP Tarik al-Hashimi has proposed additions that would expand the plan significantly and include objectionable language recognizing the "legitimacy of national resistance," distinguishing it from terrorism and noting the "necessity" of involving the national resistance in the dialogue on national reconciliation.

¶2. (SBU) Para 3 contains the proposal as drafted by National Security Advisor al-Rubbaie, which the Prime Minister has circulated for approval. Paragraph 4 contains Hashimi's rewrite.

¶3. (SBU) Begin Text Maliki/Rubbaie version:

The National Reconciliation and Dialogue Project

In order to emphasize the unity of the Iraqi people, and firmly establish the basis of national unity, spread an environment of harmony and love between its various components, and dealing with the effects which terror has left on mutual confidence. For spreading the spirit of loyal patriotism for an Iraq that treats all Iraqis equally with regard to their rights and their duties and does not distinguish on the basis of sect, ethnicity, or political party. In order to form a broad national front to face the challenges and requirements of the process of building Iraq and the prosperity of its people, and for the restoration of its full will and sovereignty, and for our dear Iraq to restore its leading position regionally and internationally. For the sake of all this we launch the national reconciliation and dialogue initiative, which is based on two fundamental pillars:

An approved mechanism.
Required principles and policies.

First: Mechanisms

¶A. To form a high national commission in the name of (The

National Commission
of the National Reconciliation and Dialogue Project) from
representatives
of the three authorities and the Minister of State for the
National Dialogue,
representatives of the parliamentary lists composed of
coalitions of
political movements, independent figures, representatives of
the religious
authorities and the tribes.

¶B. To form subcommittees in the provinces to assume
the same tasks that the High National Commission would
undertake in order to
horizontally expand reconciliation.

¶C. To form field committees for establishing
cultural and media visions and to follow up the
reconciliation process and
focus on, and evaluate, its stages.

¶D. To convene a conference for various
components of the society such as:

¶1. A conference for religious scholars in order
to support the reconciliation process and the issuance of
Fatwas supporting
reconciliation, fatwas are considered abiding by God's will.

¶2. A conference for heads of tribes to issue a Code of Honor
to confront,
fight and defeat terrorism and those who are corrupt.

¶3. A conference for the presently active political forces who
pledge support
to the State, support the political process, confront the
terrorist
challenge and corruption and to announce a National Compact
to that effect.

¶4. Motivating all civil society institutions to hold events,

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conferences and
awareness and education campaigns.

Second: Required Principles and Policies

¶1. The political forces participating in the political
process and the
government should adopt a rational political message to bring
back and
deepen the spirit of confidence and to reassure the reluctant
parties.

¶2. To adopt a true national dialogue for dealing with all
visions and stances
that differ from the vision of the government and the
political forces
participating in the political process.

¶3. To adopt the constitutional and
legal legitimacy to solve the country's problems, and deal
with the
phenomenon of physical liquidations and exert efforts for
controlling
such a dangerous phenomenon.

¶4. The political forces participating in the
government must take a clear and forthright stance against
terrorists
and Saddamists.

¶5. To issue a general pardon for detainees who were not
involved in crimes, terrorist acts, war crimes, and crimes
against
humanity, and he who desires the opportunity for pardon
pledges to
denounce violence and pledges support for the national
elected

Iraqi government and pledges to follow the law.

¶6. To prevent human rights violations, work on prison reform
and punish
those responsible for crimes of torture, and enable the
international organizations
concerned to visit prisons and inspect the prisoners'
conditions.

- ¶7. To discuss with the Multi National Forces putting in place mechanisms to prevent violations of human and civil rights during military operations.
- ¶8. To solve the problems of the employees of the dissolved departments, particularly the economic aspect.
- ¶9. To reconsider the Debaathification commission, making it subject to the law and the judiciary, and removing its political character so as to assume a professional and constitutional nature.
- ¶10. To take swift measures to improve services especially in hot areas.
- ¶11. To activate preparatory committees that emerged from the Cairo Conference for the National Accord in coordination with the United Nations.
- ¶12. The government should make a regional Arab Islamic balanced move to make governments aware of what is going on in Iraq and win their support for the national accord process, especially the governments that offer support to or overlook terrorism.
- ¶13. Serious and rapid work to build the Armed Forces, which will assume Iraq's security management, paving the way for the Multi National Forces pullout.
- ¶14. The government should honor its previous commitment by working on studying amending the Constitution.
- ¶15. To activate decisions to support victims of the former regime, compensate them, and provide the means to improve living and service conditions in the deprived areas.
- ¶16. To revoke all red lines that prevent the participation of any Iraqi citizen who did not commit any crime and wants to work toward building Iraq.
- ¶17. To compensate those harmed by terrorist acts and military operations.
- ¶18. Activate the role of just judiciary for punishing criminals, and making the Judiciary the only authority in dealing with crimes, symbols of the former regime, and terrorists.
- ¶19. To make the armed forces not subject to the influence of the

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competing political forces, and to keep the Armed forces from intervening in political matters. To solve the problem of the militias and the illegal armed groups and dealing with them politically, economically, and in terms of security.

- ¶20. To unify visions and positions vis-a-vis terrorist and Takfeer elements and groups hostile to Iraq and the Iraqis.
- ¶21. To launch an extensive construction campaign for all damaged areas in Iraq and to solve the unemployment problem.
- ¶22. The Parliament, the Constitution, and the National Unity Government were the result of elections and these institutions constitute the legitimate representation of the Iraqi people's will in dealing with issues of sovereignty and no one has the right any longer to talk about resistance outside the scope of these legitimate institutions.

End Text.

4, (C) Begin Text Hashimi version:

The National Reconciliation and Dialogue Project

For emphasizing the unity between the Iraqi people, consolidating the rules of national unity, establishing an environment of harmony and love between various components, and dealing with the effects which terror in all its forms, mismanagement and foreign intervention has left on mutual confidence between Iraqis and for deepening the spirit of sincere citizenship (in which all Iraqis become equal in their rights and duties, without political, sectarian, ethnic and partisan distinction) and for forming a wide national front to confront the challenges of the process of building Iraq and the welfare of its people and the restoration of its full will and sovereignty, and for restoring Iraq's pioneer and unique position regionally and internationally, we launch the national reconciliation and dialogue initiative, which is based on three fundamental pillars:

- ¶1. Required principles and policies.
- ¶2. An approved mechanism
- ¶3. The organizational structure.

First: Required principles and policies

- ¶1. Adopting a political, information, religious and rational message that opposes the sectarian and ethnic calls from the political powers participating in the political process, the government and the remaining political movements working in the field for restoring and deepening confidence and trust of all parties, the neutrality of governmental media and preventing it from dealing with issues that stimulate ethnic and sectarian chauvinism and incite resentment, hatred and revenge must be emphasized.
- ¶2. Adopting a policy of honest national dialogue in dealing with all visions and positions which oppose the visions and positions of the government and the political forces participating in the political process.
- ¶3. Adopting constitutional and legal legitimacy to resolve the problems of the country. Dealing with the phenomena of physical liquidations, and exerting efforts to control this dangerous phenomena.
- ¶4. Establishing a position concerning the occupation and the necessity of agreement concerning a conditional timetable for withdrawal concurrent with building the Armed Forces in a way that guarantees the security of Iraq, and supporting that with a decision issued by the Security Council.
- ¶5. Adopting a decisive foreign policy towards neighboring countries with the purpose of preventing their intervention in Iraqi affairs, controlling the borders and stopping infiltrations.
- ¶6. The political forces participating in the government

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must take a clear and candid position against terrorists, Saddamists, the occupation, the armed party militias and the death squads.

- ¶7. As an initiative of good faith and in preparation for launching an initiative for Reconciliation and Dialogue, release all detainees in the prisons of MOD

and MOI and the US controlled prisons are released within a specific period except for detainees who were convicted of committing regular crimes.

¶8. Formation of a special commission to review the sentences issued against Iraqis in crimes other than regular crimes.

¶9. Prevention of human rights violations and work for reforming prisons and punishing those who are responsible for crimes of torture, and referring them to the courts for holding them accountable in accordance with the law. Enabling concerned international and national organizations to visit prisons and examine prisoners' conditions without obstacles and adopt reports submitted by those organizations.

¶10. Negotiation with the Multi National Forces for establishment of mechanisms to prevent human rights violations and violations against civilians during military operations.

¶11. Resolving the problems of dissolved government departments, especially ones related to economic aspect and restoring those whose experience can be used and those who did not reach the legal age of retirement to their previous positions.

¶12. Review the Debaathification law

¶13. Taking quick measures to improve services especially in hot areas.

¶14. To activate preparatory committees that emerged from the Cairo Conference for the National Accord in coordination with the Arab league.

¶15. The government should make a regional Arab Islamic balanced move to make governments aware of what is going on in Iraq and win their support for the national accord process.

¶16. Serious and rapid work to build the Armed Forces of MOD and MOI and others to guarantee building it on national and professional basis since it will assume Iraq's security, paving the way for the Multi National Forces pullout.

¶17. Work to amend the Constitution within the period stipulated in Article 142, the COR must fulfill its previous commitment to work for that goal.

¶18. To activate decisions to support victims of the former regime, the occupation and subsequent governments or those who were subjected to terrorism and violence from any source and compensate them, and provide the means to improve living and service conditions in the deprived areas all over Iraq.

¶19. Recognize the legitimacy of national resistance and distinguish national resistance from terrorism and encourage the resistance to join the political process and the necessity of involving the national resistance in the dialogue of national reconciliation.

¶20. To revoke all red lines that prevent the participation of any Iraqi citizen either as individuals or as groups in the political process.

¶21. To compensate those harmed by terrorist acts, military operations and human rights violations committed by the government and occupation forces.

¶22. Work to return the displaced to their areas. The government and its security institutions must secure their return and protect them against

saboteurs and terrorists as well as compensate them for damages and adopt a decisive security policy to guarantee people's protection and to prevent their being subjected to theft and coercion.

¶23. Return seized mosques and shrines to their people and legal owners

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and reconstruct mosques which were burned or destroyed.

¶24. Guarantee the fairness and independence of the Judiciary.

¶25. Work diligently to free the armed forces from the influence of the competing political forces, and from intervening in political matters.

To solve the problem of the militias and the illegal armed groups by integrating them into civil society through appointment in various civil ministries of the State.

¶26. To unify the visions and positions vis-a-vis the terrorist and Takfeeri elements and groups, of all sects and religions that are hostile towards Iraq and the Iraqis.

¶27. To launch an extensive construction campaign for all damaged areas in Iraq, aiming in the first place to improve services and to solve the unemployment problem.

¶28. An immediate halt of military operations, raids on areas and collective punishments directed towards specific areas in the name of combating terrorism. Detention and search operations must be done in accordance with real judicial orders issued before the raids or detention and based on definitive information.

Second: An approved Mechanism.

¶A. The Prime Minister officially announces the launching of a project for reconciliation and national dialogue before the COR by presenting a document signed by all the leaders of the concerned political structures.

¶B. Holding conferences for various sectors of society such as:

1- A conference for religious scholars in order to support the reconciliation process and the issuance of Fatwas supporting reconciliation "as a clinging to the cord of God" and we appeal to the highest religious authorities to issue rulings that forbid the shedding of Iraqi blood.

2- A conference for heads of tribes to issue a Code of Honor calling for commitment to the project and for confronting, fighting and defeating terrorism and those who are corrupt.

3- A conference for the presently active political forces, to undertake supporting the State, protecting the political process based on higher national interest of preserving the unity of Iraq's people and territory and confronting the deteriorating security situation, terrorism, and corruption which is happening as one of the results, and consequence, of occupation, and announcing a national Compact for this.

¶C. Motivating all civil society institutions to hold events, conferences

and awareness and education campaigns.

¶D. Bringing about real reform to the various institutions of the State and its management methods. It is necessary to build sound government institutions that enjoy independence in order to make the government at the service of the people instead of being a burden for the people.

¶E. The plan is to be implemented in the following stages and in accordance with an agreed upon timetable:

- The planning stage
- The implementation stage
- The preparatory stage
- The implementation of policies stage
- The evaluation and review stage

Third : The Organizational Structure.

¶1. The National Organization for National Reconciliation and Dialogue (planning). The Minister of State for national Dialogue as its secretary. (It can emanate from the political committee

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for
National Security)

¶2. The executive committees (implementation)

¶3. The central committee for follow up (a preferably neutral entity to follow up, observe and rectify)

¶4. Arbitration Committee (a neutral entity, legal power with final and compulsory decisions. (it is necessary to agree early on the members of the organization and the committees)

End Text
SPECKHARD